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Message Text

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ACTION IO-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 RSC-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 HEW-06 CU-04 AID-05 EB-06 COME-00 SAM-01 /121 W
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O R 302340Z OCT 74
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6920
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: UN, PFOR, SC, SF
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA IN SC

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMBASSADOR SCALI'S STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA, DELIVERED IN SC PM OCTOBER 30:
QUOTE
STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHN SCALI ON SOUTH AFRICA, SECURITY COUNCIL, OCTOBER 30, 1974
MR PRESIDENT, PERMIT ME FIRST TO EXPRESS MY DELEGATIONS SINCERE CONDOLENCES TO OUR COLLEAGUE FROM IRAQ ON THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER, SHADHIL JASIM TAQA. I HOPE HE WILL TRANSMIT THIS MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY TO HIS GOVERNMENT.
MR PRESIDENT, OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF OUR ORGANIZATION AND INDIVIDUAL PETITIONERS TO THE COUNCIL HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS PRACTICE OF APARTHEID. IN VIRTUALLY ALL CASES, THEIR ARGUMENTS WERE PREDICATED ON THE ABHORRENCE OF THE UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF PEOPLES WITHIN A SOCIETY AND A MINORITY RULE WHICH DISCRIMINATES AGAINST THE MAJORITY ON THE BASIS OF COLOR.
LET THERE BE NO DOUBT OR CONFUSION, DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF SOME, ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONCERNING APARTHEID. IN SIMPLEST TERMS, MR. PRESIDENT, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OPPOSES IT CATEGORICALLY AND ABSOLUTELY. IT IS EVIL. IT IS UGLY. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE INDIGNATION OF THOSE WHO DURING THIS DEBATE HAVE DECRIED SOUTH AFRICA'S PERSISTENCE IN HOLDING ON TO THE INIQUITOUS AND CALLOUS POLICY OF APARTHEID. THE SYSTEM OF LEGISLATED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND ASSOCIATED REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION THAT PREVAILS IN SOUTH AFRICA IS AN INDEFENSIBLE AFFRONT TO THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER AND TO HUMAN DIGNITY AROUND THE WORLD. IT DENIES WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER PROCLAIMS; THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF EVERY PERSON AND THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN.
IT IS A MATTER OF PROFOUND CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS IGNORED CALLS IN
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THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO PUT AN END TO IS INHUMANE, OUTMODED, AND SHORTSIGHTED POLICIES. DESPITE ALL WARNINGS AND ADMONITIONS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PRACTICE APARTHEID. IT CONTINUES TO UPROOT NON-WHITES AND CONSIGN THEM TO OFTEN BARREN HOMELANDS IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE SUPREMACY OF THE FIFTH OF THE POPULATION WHO ARE WHITE. IT MAINTAINS DRACONIAN RESTRICTIONS ON THE MOVEMENT OF NON-WHITES.

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IT PERSISTS IN PROVIDING TO NON-WHITES INFERIOR EDUCATION,
KEEPING THEM IN A DISADVANTAGEOUS POSITION. SEGREGATION
AND INEQUALITY IN ALL AREAS OF LIFE ARE PERVASIVE. NON-
WHITES ARE NOT REPRESENTED IN THE GOVERNMENT THAT DOMINATES
AND INTRUDES INTO ALMOST EVERY ASPECT OF THEIR LIVES.
SOUTH AFRICA'S DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IS
COMPOUNDED IN NAMIBIA BY ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THAT
TERRITORY. THE UNITED STATES FINDS IT REPREHENSIBLE
THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS FAILED TO HONOR ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER
INTERNATIONAL LAW TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE
WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS
AND THE 1971 OPINION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.
SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUING ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA
IS MADE ALL THE MORE OUTRAGEOUS BY THE MANNER IN WHICH
IT ADMINISTERS THE TERRITORY . THE REPRESSION OF PEACEFUL
POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THE FLOGGING OF DISSIDENTS BY THE
SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION'S SURROGATES, AND THE DIVISION
OF THE TERRITORY INTO SO-CALLED HOMELANDS ARE INDEFENSIBLE
AND INCONSISTENT WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES SOUTH AFRICA
HAD ASSUMED AS ADMINISTRATOR OF A MANDATED TERRITORY.
BUT, MR. PRESIDENT, I AM OBLIGED TO POINT OUT THAT
EVEN IN THIS GRIEVOUS CASE, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES
STRONGLY TO ADHERE TO THE VIEW THAT RESORT TO FORCE AND
OTHER FORMS OF VIOLENCE ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE MEANS TO
INDUCE CHANGE. THIS IS OUR VIEW WITH REGARD TO OTHER
SERIOUS PROBLEMS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND IT IS OUR VIEW
WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH AFRICA. ARMED CONFRONTATION IS
NO SUBSTITUTE FOR COMMUNICATION.
THE DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSGRESSIONS I
HAVE JUST PRESENTED IS NOT NEW . OBSERVERS HAVE AGREED
ABOUT THE ESSENTIAL FACTS OF APARTHEID FOR MANY YEARS.
SOME OF THE WORDS I HAVE JUST USED ARE BORROWED.
MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL MAY BE FAMILIAR WITH THE
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STATEMENT MADE IN THE SPECIAL POLITICAL
COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 17 ON THE
ISSUE OF APARTHEID BY MY DISTINGUISHED CO-DELEGATE,
MR. JOSEPH SEGEL. THIS IS S PERSONAL STATEMENT, AS WELL
AS AN OFFICIAL ONE, DELIVERED FROM THE HEART BY A MAN NOW
SERVING AS A "PUBLIC MEMBER"--I REPEAT, A PUBLIC MEMBER-
OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION. IT IS ALSO A STATEMENT
TO WHICH I SUBSCRIBE, TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
SUBSCRIBES..
WE ARE HEARTENED, INDEED, BY SOME ENCOURAGING WORDS
IN THIS CHAMBER VOICED BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF
SOUTH AFRICA. ON OCTOBER 24 HE HIMSELF IMPLIED THAT SOUTH

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 RSC-01

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AFRICA IS RESPONDING NOT IN A VACUUM BUT IN REACTION TO
WORLD EVENTS, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH HAS BEEN THE CONDEM-
NATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID, NAMIBIAN, AND RHODESIAN
POLICIES WITHIN THIS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. I HAVE
NOTED WITH SPECIAL INTEREST THAT A DISTINGUISHED AFRICAN
LEADER, WHOSE BITTER EXPERIENCES IN THE PAST MAKE HIM AN
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IMPRESSIVE WITNESS TODAY, HAS ALSO FOUND HOPEFUL ASPECTS
IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN VOICES.
WE BELIEVE THAT A JUST SOLUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
RACIAL DILEMMA INDEED LIES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF.
TAKING PRACTICAL STEPS TOWARD IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF
NON-WHITES AND SEEKING CHANGE THROUGH COMMUNICATION SEEM
TO US MORE LIKELY TO HAVE IMPACT THAN SOME OTHER MEASURES
SUGGESTED. AMERICAN FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA, FOR EXAMPLE,
HAVE HAD NOTABLE SUCCESS IN IMPROVING THE PAY AND WORKING
CONDITIONS OF THEIR NON-WHITE WORKER. THEY DO THIS AS
A MATTER OF ENLIGHTENED POLICY--WITH THE SUPPORT OF
THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES
THAT THROUGH ITS CURRENT CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM, PROMINENT
SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL RACES HAVE GAINED A NEW, MORE ACCURATE
PERSPECTIVE OF THEIR COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS AND A DETERMINATION
TO SEEK A SOLUTION TO THEM.
AT THE SAME TIME, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO
BAR THE SALE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA. IN
THIS REGARD,I WOULD LIKE TO STATE FLATELY THAT THE UNITED
STATES HAS NOT COLLABORATED WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON MILITARY
OR NAVAL MATTERS FOR OVER A DECADE, AND HAS NO INTENTION
OF BEGINNING SUCH COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE.
THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS SIGNIFICANTLY
DIFFERENT NOW FROM THAT OF SIX MONTHS AGO. SOUTH AFRICA
HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO REASSESS ITS POSITION IN LIGHT
OF RECENT EVENTS. THE UNITED STATES URGES THAT IN DOING SO, THE
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT LOOK AT THE REALITIES OF
THE FUTURE.
WE CALL ON SOUTH AFRICA TO MAKE GOOD THE ASSURANCES
IT GAVE SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM IN APRIL LAST YEAR TO
ALLOW THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF
THE TERRITORY BY EXERCISING THEIR RIGHT
OF SELF-DETERMINATION, AND TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA. WE
URGE THAT SOUTH AFRICA SIMULTANEOUSLY BEGIN TO BRING AN
END TO ITS APARTHEID POLICIES AND TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS
FOR A JUST SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT WHERE ALL ARE EQUAL.
WE BELIEVE THAT AFTER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF WARNINGS,
IT IS TIME FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT THE
MEASURES WHICH WILL LEAD TO A SOCIETY OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY.,
EQUAL REWARDS, AND EQUAL JUSTICE FOR ALL. WE CALL ON SOUTH
AFRICA TO FULFULL ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 25 OF THE
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CHARTER AND TO COMPLY WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON
SOUTHERN RHODESIA.
MR PRESIDENT, SOME SPEAKERS HAVE ARGUED THAT THE
BEST WAY TO BRING THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA TO

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ACCOMPLISH THESE OBJECTIVES--TO BRING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO HEEL-IS FOR THIS COUNCIL TO RECOMMEND TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT SOUTH AFRICA BE EXPELLED FROM MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION. MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT THIS KIND OF ALL -OR-NOTHING APPROACH WOULD BE A MAJOR STRATEGIC MISTAKE, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN WE HAVE BEEN HEARING WHAT MAY BE NEW VOICES OF CONCILIATION OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA. THESE NEW VOICES SHOULD BE TESTED. WE MUST NOT BE DISCOURAGED, AS WE MAY HAVE BEEN LAST DECEMBER WHEN WE INSTRUCTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO ABANDON HIS CONTACTS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON NAMIBIA.

MR. PRESIDENT, MANY OF OUR COLLEAGUES DURING THE PAST WEKS HAVE CITED TIME AND TIME AGAIN THE POETIC REFERENCE TO "WINDS OF CHANGE". WITH THE FRESH WINDS OF CHANGE BLOWING FROM AN ENLIGHTENED PORTUGUESE POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, EFFECTING IMPORTANT AND PROGRESSIVE CHANGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THIS ORGANIZATION NOT TO DEFLECT THOSE VERY WINDS AS THEY RUSH TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA. BY DOING SO, WE CONFESS THAT THIS ORGANIZATION IS POWERLESS TO INFLUENCE CHANGE THERE. MY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS POWERLESS; RATHER, WE STONGLY BELIEVE THAT IT IS THROUGH BOTH INCREASED BILATERAL CONTACTS AND THE STRONG WILL OF A DETERMINED UNITED NATIONS THAT PEACEFUL CHANGE WILL OCCUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. PRESIDENT THE UNITED NATIONS WAS NOT FOUNDED TO BE SIMPLY A LEAGUE OF THE JUST. RATHER, IN OUR VIEW, IT IS A UNIQUE INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR THE EXCHANGING OF IDEAS, WHERE THOSE PRACTICING OBNOXIOUS DOCTRINES AND POLICIES MAY BE MADE TO FEEL THE FULL WEIGHT OF WORLD OPINION. THERE IS, THEREFORE, A CLEAR, POSITIVE, AND INDISPENSABLE ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN BRINGING CHANGE TO SOUTH AFRICA.

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ACTION IO-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-04 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-08 NEA-06 RSC-01

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O R 302340Z OCT 74
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MY DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD
CONTINUE TO BE EXPOSED, OVER AND OVER AGAIN, TO THE BLUNT
EXPRESSIONS OF THE ABHORRENCE OF MANKIND FOR APARTHEID.
SOUTH AFRICANS COULD HEAR OF THIS ABHORRENCE ONLY FROM
AFAR, WERE WE TO CAST THEM FROM OUR RANKS, BEYOND THE RANGE
OF OUR VOICES. OUR ANALYSIS IS THAT EXPULSION WOULD SAY
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TO THE MOST HARDENDED RACIST ELEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT
THEIR INDIFFERENCE TO OUR WORDS AND REOLSUIONS HAD BEEN
JUSTIFIED. WE THINK IT WOULD SAY TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS
THAT WE HAVE NOT HEARD, OR DO NOT WISH TO ENCOURAGE, THE
NEW VOICES--THE VOICES THAT AUGUR HOPE OF CHANGE. WE
BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MUST CONTINUE ITS PRESSURE
UPON SOUTH AFRICA MOVING STEP BY STEP UNTIL RIGHT HAS
TRIUMPHED. IT IS SELF-DEFEATING TO FIRE A
SINGLE LAST DRAMATIC SALVO WITH ONLY SILENCE TO FOLLOW
HISTORY HOLDS NO EXAMPLE OF A PARIAH STATE THAT REFORMED
ITSELF IN EXILE. THE PARIAH IS BY DEFINITION AN OUTLAW,
FREE OF RESTRAINT. THERE IS NO RECORD OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP
IN THE LNAD OF NOD, EAST OF EDEN, WHERE CAIN THE FIRST
PARIAH, WAS BANISHED.

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MY DELEGATION HAS ANOTHER GRAVE CONCERN ABOUT THE
WISDOM OF EXPELLING SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN IF THIS WOULD
HELP THWART THE UGLY CRIME OF APARTHEID , EXPULSION WOULD
SET A SHATTERING PRECEDENT WHICH COULD GRAVELY DAMAGE
THE UNITED NATIONS STRUCTURE. IT WOULD BRING INTO
QUESTION ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS ON WHICH
OUR CHARTER IS BASED: THE CONCEPT OF A FORUM IN WHICH
IDEAS AND IDEALS ARE VOICED AND RE-VOICED ALONG WITH
CONFLICTING VIEWS UNTIL ELEMENTS OF INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION
ARE FORCED TO GIVE WAY TO REASON.
THIS, IN SUM, IS THE APPEAL OF MY DELEGATION. LET
US CONTINUE TO HOLD THE VEILS OF APARTHIED UNDER THE
LIGHT OF WORLD OPINION UNTIL ALL OUR FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS
HAVE SEEN IT FOR WHAT IT IS. LET US CONTINUE TO PRESS
SOUTH AFRICA IN THIS UN FORUM AND OTHERS TO MOVE
RAPIDLY TOWARD AN ERA OF EQUALITY AND JUSTICE .
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